361 of 250 to 300 for the old Mundurucú villages.

The aboriginal Mundurucú village consisted of three to five dwelling places and the men's house, or oksa.* The average population was about 250 people. Commonly, these villages were located on stretches of high savannah. Such a site was easily defensible as its open location protected it from the surprise attacks always used by Amazonian Indians. Also, these locations were relatively free of insects. The [517] Mundurucú say too that "it is beautiful here for you can see far."

342 The houses were oblong with rounded ends and had steeply pitched thatched roofs. Some houses were 80 to 100 feet in length. The eaves of the roofs terminated at about five feet from the ground and the house was closed by vertical bark walls. Doors made of the center stalks of palm fronds were used.

344 The men's house was a large lean-to type building, the open end of which always faced east. It was up to 100 feet long and had a roof that gently sloped from the east end, at which point it was about fifteen to twenty feet high, until it met the ground at the west end. The front and both sides were open. Adjoining the south side of the west end [778] of the men's house was the small room in which the sacred trumpets, forbidden to female eyes, were kept. Three horizontal beams, one in the middle and one on either side of the house, ran from east to west at about five feet above

164 * The phonetic system used above and throughout this work is, with a few exceptions, that of English. The exceptions are: o is pronounced like the German ö; i and u are pronounced as in Portuguese isca and usar, respectively.

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721 wars. The necessity of ever having to defend their home territory was denied, and provocation by other groups was not remembered as a cause of war in Mundurucú tradition. It might be said that enemy tribes caused the Mundurucú to go to war simply by existing, and the word for enemy meant merely any group that was not Mundurucú.

Despite this seemingly undirected aggressiveness, it was possible to establish through direct questioning and by analysis of field data that certain individual and social goals were realized through warfare. The more important of these goals will be analyzed and their significance as causes of the institution of warfare will be evaluated in the following section.

721 *The Mundurucú were partially* motivated to war by the quest for manu-
648 factured goods, which, as noted earlier, were obtained from the Brazilians in return for service as mercenary warriors against unpacified tribes. The symbiotic relationship that became established was noted by Chandless (1862:276) who wrote that the Mundurucú were "honest and faithful," and "very friendly toward white people, warring only against unpacified Indians while protecting those friendly with the whites."

175 The scope and importance of Mundurucú mercenary activities is impres-
726 sive. In the early 19th century, the whites urged them to attack the trouble-
648 some Mura Indians of the lower Madeira River, and so great was their success that the Mura were scattered as far as the vicinity of Ega, hundreds of miles up the Amazon River (Bates 1863:168–9). Ayres de Casal (1817:237–8) reported that many of the victims of the Mundurucú, among them the Mura, were forced to seek the protection of the white settlements. The traders who employed the Mundurucú thus obtained a dual advantage; the hostiles were not only quelled but were driven into the arms of the labor-hungry whites.

Later references also attest to the alliance with the Brazilians. The Mundurucú were enlisted by colonial officials during the Revolution of the Cabañas in 1835–36, and one of their leaders in the war was given an honorary commission in the army in recognition of his services (Hartt 1885:132). Bates (1863:162) reports that in about 1853 the Mundurucú were instrumental in helping the Brazilians of the Madeira River to suppress the Arara Indians, and Tocantins (1877:140) states that shortly before his journey to the Mundurucú, the latter struck at a marauding group of Parintintin Indians at the behest of the Brazilians. Coudreau (1897:39–40) relates another case of mercenary service by the Mundurucú, whom he characterizes as a people "known for selling their military valor to whoever wants to pay for it." On this occasion, three traders of the Madeira River had been killed by hostile Indians, and their colleagues went to the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River and offered merchandise in return for a retaliatory expedition. The offer was accepted but the sortie was a failure, for most of the 60 men and 40 women who took part in the raid died of illness before contacting the enemy.

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175 Although mercenary service is one of the more interesting aspects of
721 Mundurucú warfare during the 19th century, contemporary informants hardly thought it worthy of mention. They acknowledged their alliance with